

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

| TO: |          | ACTION                 | INFO | DATE | INITIAL |
|-----|----------|------------------------|------|------|---------|
| 1   | DCI      |                        | X    |      |         |
| 2   | DDCI     |                        | X    |      |         |
| 3   | EXDIR    |                        | X    |      |         |
| 4   | D/ICS    |                        |      |      |         |
| 5   | DDI      |                        | X    |      |         |
| 6   | DDA      |                        |      |      |         |
| 7   | DDO      |                        |      |      |         |
| 8   | DDS&T    |                        |      |      |         |
| 9   | Chm/NIC  |                        |      |      |         |
| 10  | GC       |                        |      |      |         |
| 11  | IG       |                        |      |      |         |
| 12  | Compt    |                        |      |      |         |
| 13  | D/OLL    |                        |      |      |         |
| 14  | D/PAO    |                        |      |      |         |
| 15  | D/PERS   |                        |      |      |         |
| 16  | VC/NIC   |                        |      |      |         |
| 17  | C/AF/DO  |                        | X    |      |         |
| 18  | NIO/AF   |                        | X    |      |         |
| 19  | D/ALA/DI |                        | X    |      |         |
| 20  | D/OCA    |                        | X    |      |         |
| 21  | ER       |                        |      |      |         |
| 22  |          |                        |      |      |         |
|     |          | SUSPENSE _____<br>Date |      |      |         |

Remarks

Executive Secretary  
Y Aug 86

Date

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*Thought you  
would like  
to see this -  
Dan*

DAN BURTON  
MEMBER OF CONGRESS  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515  
(202) 225-2278

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Executive Registry

86- 3455X

**Congress of the United States****House of Representatives****Washington, DC 20515****July 31, 1986**

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Reagan:

In your speech of July 22 you stated that "the South African Government is under no obligation to negotiate the future of the country with any organization that proclaims a goal of creating a Communist State -- and uses terrorist tactics to achieve it." This would seem to be a minimum condition of any U.S. policy: that we not legitimize or recognize Soviet-backed "liberation" movements that are inimical to human rights and U.S. interests.

The day after your speech, Secretary Shultz said that "We continue to urge the South African government to communicate with all parties ... including, among others, the African National Congress." The Secretary also stated that he would meet with Oliver Tambo, the President of the ANC. How is this consistent with your expressed policy?

The sponsors of the sanctions legislation state that their primary purpose is to force the South African government to negotiate with the African National Congress. In fact, it is impossible to distinguish the Secretary's stated position towards the ANC, and that of Rep. George Crockett, whose bill calls on you to "[recognize] the African National Congress as a legitimate representative for the country's black majority."

We would like to support your policy, Mr. President, but it is very difficult to do so when Secretary Shultz is taking the position of our most radical opponents in the House. The signatories of the attached letter, some of whom have supported sanctions, share your views regarding the African National Congress. As the letter states, "U.S. policy should emphasize that we are not urging the South African government to negotiate with the ANC, until the ANC breaks its alliance with the South African Communist Party." We believe that this is the appropriate position for the leader of the free world to take, and would appreciate it if Secretary Shultz would support the same position that you do as President of the United States.

Sincerely,

*Dan Burton* *Mont Lott* *Jim Coon*

*James L. ...* *... New Director*

DCI  
EXEC  
REG

C-301E-IR

**DAN BURTON**  
 CHIEF OF STAFF, SENATOR  
 DEPUTY WHIP

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# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

### Washington, DC 20515

July 17, 1986

Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter  
 Assistant to the President for  
 National Security Affairs  
 The White House  
 Washington, DC 20500

Dear Admiral Poindexter:

On June 18 the House voted 369 to 49 that no U.S. assistance should go to the African National Congress, "until such time as [the ANC's] controlling body no longer includes members of the South African Communist Party." We believe that the reported "reassessment" of U.S. policy should emphasize that we are not urging the South African government to negotiate with the ANC, until the ANC breaks its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

As the President said on July 8, there is "a great need for communication with responsible black leaders", but we must be concerned about the "radical element [that] by its own statement and declaration wants only a violent settlement."

It is as clear as it could possibly be that the ANC is a typical Soviet-backed "liberation" movement. The ANC is openly allied with the South African Communist Party, has received about \$80 million in military assistance from the Soviet Union, endorses the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, describes Israel as the "imperialist proxy" of the United States, and uses terrorist tactics against moderate blacks in its campaign to make South Africa "ungovernable".

The ANC is the sworn enemy of all blacks who would help negotiate a truly democratic post-apartheid South Africa. So long as the ANC remains communist-dominated, any overture to it undermines the position of black moderates, increases the likelihood of a right-wing backlash, and reduces the chances for productive dialogue.

To oppose and expose the ANC is to take the high moral ground. As Margaret Thatcher asked, "What is moral about putting a necklace full of petrol and putting a light to it round someone's neck?" The ANC would no more bring freedom to blacks than the PLO would to Palestinians, the FMLN to Salvadorans, the NPA to Philipinos, or the Sandinistas have to Nicaragua. It would be criminal for the United States to remain silent in the face of the international campaign portraying the ANC as nationalist and democratic. If the President refrains from stating what the ANC is--a

Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter  
 PAGE TWO  
 July 17, 1986

communist front practicing terrorism against blacks--the only beneficiary will be the ANC itself.

The United States could play a constructive and important role with a two-track policy of clear repudiation of anti-democratic groups coupled with increased contacts with the the numerous church, labor, and black-nationalist organizations that reject both communism and apartheid. This policy should include an "open-arms" attitude towards any well-meaning non-communists in the ANC who wish to disassociate themselves from the ANC as it is currently constituted.

The House has voted overwhelming to reject support for the ANC in its current alliance with the South African Communist Party. We believe that any policy that implicitly accepts the ANC/SACP alliance as a legitimate representative of black interests would be a moral outrage, a sharp blow to the hope for a peaceful solution in South Africa, and contrary to the best instincts of the American people. We have every confidence that any revision of Administration policy will not make this error, and request your indulgence in the event that our concern is misplaced.

Sincerely,

Don Burton Mike Stanton Jim Conter  
Pete Crane Benny J. Hyde Jack Kemp  
Bill McCole Duncan Hunter C. D. Ogle  
Mike DeWine Bill Dornan Jim Ingren  
Howard C. Rice Nancy J. Brown Al Swift  
Tom Lewis Pat Williams Nancy D. Ingraham  
Robert K. Dornan